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A
R E P L Y

To the A U T H O R S of the
Advantages of Scotland

B Y A N

Incorporate Union;

A N D O F

The Fifth E S S A Y,

At Removing

National Prejudices.

O R, A

VINDICATION

O F

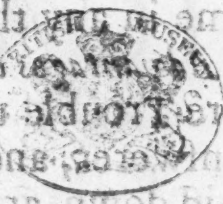
The Author of the Advantages of
the Act of Security, in Opposi-
tion to the Incorporating Union.

Printed in the Year M. DCC. VII.

A REPLY to the Authors of the Advantages of
 and an Incorporate Union; and of the Fifth
 at Removing National Prejudices

It is very true, that there is an Answer published to
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*A R E P L Y to the Authors of the Advantages of
Scotland by an Incorporate Union, and of the Fifth
Essay at Removing National Prejudices.*

S I R,

TIS very true, that there's an Answer published to that Treatise, you and a great many more, thought Unanswerable, Entitled, *The Advantages of the Act of Security, &c.* And more lately, we have *A Fifth Essay* from Mr. D. F. who here endeavours to overturn the Revolution Principles, he set up for in *England*, and so goes on to talk of Trade, and Improvements of all Sorts, by which he pretends we cannot fail to be Enriched, how soon the Union shall be effected.

Now, Sir, In Obedience to your Commands, (for you have a Right to Command me in any thing.) I shall, since you tell me the Author of *The Advantages of the Act of Security*, designs not to give himself more Trouble upon this account, attempt to Confute both the Answerer, and Essayer, so far as they have kept by the Scheme laid down, and Reasons adduced by him: I had done something to this purpose sooner, but to tell you the Truth, Sir, I thought it worth no Body's while to waste Time and Paper upon the trifling Quibbles, and Coarse unpolished Satyr of the one, till the Reasoning part should be made Publick, which seemed to be Judiciously turned over to the other. And indeed, from the Natural Endowments of

this last, such Solidity was looked for, as the Subject could bear, and from the Innate Civility of his Paternal Nation, and other good Causes; it was hoped, he would neither fully his own Pen with opprobrious Expressions, nor Threaten his Antagonist with Pillorie and Ropes: And to do him Right, did he not so highly extol the *Arguments* of, and *Justice* done by his Insulting Colleague, whatever others may, the Author of the *Advantages*, &c. would have no great Cause to complain; but I shall have occasion to say a little more to the latter Performances of this Gentleman, as he comes in my way of Course.

As for the Answerer, tho I take him to be a *Scots-man*; yet it seems, he is ashamed, he is so; he would Lampoon you into an Admiration of *England*, and Bully us into a Contempt of our selves; his Style, and turn of Thought have an *English* Show; but where he pleases to descend to *Scoticisms*, with Design to traduce these, and to shew his Parts upon the Main, 'tis lucky for him, that the Adversary he sets upon, cannot be attack'd but by Cavil, and Clamour. For after his way of managing an Argument, an ill Cause may be, like Counterfeited Coin or Painted Beauties, in some Measure set off; so as to impose upon the Unwary Beholder: But a good Cause, if ever it falls out (*avertant Superi*) that any such shall be Patronized by him, must at least for some time Forfeit its real Intrinsic Worth, when thus wretchedly guilded with Emptiness. A *swinging Inditement*, he'll tell us, no doubt; yet Swinging as it is, I'll try to shew my *Logicks*, as the *St. Germain Moschus* has done; (for such is the Pertinent and Learned Epithet, he would fasten upon the Author of the *Advantages of the Act*, &c.) and to make good the Assertion, *viz.* If Malice and Disingenuity can prejudge a Cause, (and who but such, as want to be recommended to the *Doctors*, as standing in need of some few Dozes of the Root, which grows

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grows in *Anticyra*, Hellebore, will trust their *Art* to Disingenuity and Malice ?) I say, if these sophisticated Ingredients can Spoil a Cause, the projected Union must suffer a great deal in its Essential Merits, if it has any, by the Answer above mentioned.

Pag. 3d. He asserts, *That our Jehu-like Author, would not only oblige the Commissioners of the Treaty to take Remissions from Parliament, but also two 3ds of the Parliament to stand in need of the same Favour for having gone so far as to approve the most Material Articles of the Union, in the Terms resolved. In the Name of Goodness, did ever a more false Imputation pass upon any of Adam's Race?* The Author has no such Words, he means no such thing, nor is it possible even with the Help of an *Innuendo* (and by the by, *Innuendo's* were with the self-contradicting Test, tern'd out of Doors) to wrest any part of his Book into that Calumnious Sense; others indeed have asserted, and argued from our Acts of Parliament, Claim of Right, Fundamental Constitution, and from the known Opinion of our Eminent Lawyers, That the Commissioners did stand in need of Remissions: Whether they Argued well, or not, let their Reasons decide: The Author does not so much as to hint at the thing. And as for Parliaments, he takes Pains to shew, that they are, and have been always in Possession of Doing, and Undoing, whatever they at the time thought fit, and always *impune*: Neither are there as yet, any Terms resolved upon by the Parliament, but with a *Salvo*, and 'tis hop'd, such an one too, as will, for all is hitherto done, effectually save us from all dreaded Apprehensions; there's yet time to Retreat, and 'tis what the Author Pathetically, but Respectfully Exhorts them to.

Page 4. He will have the Author to say, at least, to insinuate, that if his Scheme is followed, *the poor English will be fain to court our Protection, and beg we may not be so unkind, as*

to

to *Inva*de and *Conquer* *em*. And *Pag*: 28. He Introduces him again over *Head* and *Ears*, as unskillful Dramatick Poets are wont to hand down the Gods in a Machine, and makes him to strut about, prattle Galimathias, and talk of *Conquering England*, *Plundering Lumber-street*, *Setting London on Fire*, and what else Madness or Melancholy can suggest. And here, 'tis that like *Nero* for Singing in a Stage Play, or his Predecessor *Caligula*, after having employed his Legions in gathering Cockle-shells on the *Belgick* Shore, he Triumphs in Banter, and hisses equally at Reason and Truth. For the Author Proposes not, Desires not, that we should Conquer *England*.

'Tis true, The *Medes*, a Vassal People, Conquered the Mighty *Affyrians*; Inferior *Persia* Subdued the *Medes*; the *Persians* grown up to the hight of Grandeur and Wealth, became Subject in their turn, to a few Noblemen of *Macedonia*, a lesser Country than *Scotland*; one City, *Rome*, gave Laws to almost the whole Universe, and the Barbarous *Gauls*, *Goths* and *Vandals*, at different times, took and Sacked the same *Rome*, when raised to be the World's Metropolis; a petty King of *Tartary* to this day Reigns over the Opulent and Haughty *Chineze*: In fine, (for 'twere tedious to instance in more) an Usurping Bastard, a Vassal, Sovereign of but one Province of *France*, made himself Master of Warlike and Formidable *England*, (who would believe it) as the *Romans*, *Saxons*, and *Danes* had done before: Nay, there's scarcely a Northern People recorded in Story, but have Over-run and Conquered their more Southern Neighbours. But to dream, That we, the Despicable Inhabitants of *ultima Thule*, can ever hope in any Event, or with the Assistance of any Auxiliaries in being, to vye with, much less to Vanquish the now turned Invincible *English*, would be Impudence, Folly, and a *Scandalum Magnatum* at least; and if we should, the Answerer, I am afraid, would scarcely find in his heart to survive the blow, and

and to witness the Wonder, no more than some other Heroick Spirits were able to do on the like turns of Providential Fate, and a vast Loss to our *Scottish Nation* his Exit would be, take his own word for it,

Page 13. He'll have the Author to say, That the Freedom of our Senate is Over-awed, and the Capital Invaded by a Standing Force. Whereas he only says, That the Freedom of our Senate seems to be Over-awed, &c. a Material difference, I take it, from what is maliciously suggested; and the truth is, when his Book was Published, these seemed to be over-awed to most part without, and to a great many within Doors, witness the 52 Protesters against the inbringing of Forces to Town, as being an Incroachment on the Rights and Privileges of Parliament, and on the particular Rights and Privileges of Edinburgh, &c. How far that Protestation, and such others as have been taken in face of Parliament, against the most Material Articles of the Union, when Conditionally ratified, may contribute in aftertimes to Invalidate the Treaty, if ever the Legality of it comes to be in Question, I shall not presume to determine. This I know, when the Swedes went about to dissolve their Union from Denmark, and when the Portuguese Revolted from Spain, they made a loud noise in the World, about the Forces with which their Fore-fathers had been Over-awed in their respective Dyets and States; and the Hungarians, at this day, object nothing more, than that they were Hectored into a Surrender of their Elective Crown, to an Hereditary Monarch, by a Standing and Victorious Army, under the Command of the Duke of Lorrain, and of our Country-man Count Lesly. But why should not the Parliament bring in a Guard for its own safety? Why not? But I humbly conceive, I shall not offend, if I say, that I am heartily sorry, our Parliament is not as it used to be, sufficiently guarded against Irregular Freebooters, by the Affections and Zeal of the Freeborn People.

Page 18. He Quotes the Author asserting, *That somewhat more than the Authority of Parliament (how Great and August soever) will be necessary, to enforce the Articles of the Union on the People.* An other Falshood. He should have said with the Author, *on the Judgments and Inclinations of the People.* Was ever Imposture so bare-faced as this? And is it not plain, That our Author is ranked by the Answerer, in the Black List of those, for whose sakes, he would have *the Kingdom to be at the Charges of a few Ropes, and some Powder and Ball, to purge the French Disease, as he wittily expresses himself, from out its Body?* I cannot but own, that I Tremble at the Apprehensions of a new Scots Plot, to be laid before an *English House of Peers;* and I pray GOD, that when we shall receive the *English Manners, with their Wealth amongst us,* this Blood-thirsty Answerer, may not take it in his Pate, to Inform or stand Evidence against my Good Friend or Door Neighbour. *This somewhat more,* is full of Mystery, according to him; there's, no doubt, some dark deep Intrigue lyes under *this somewhat more,* a pox on't, it will undoe us all. For,

After a little *Thinking* (and here he gives himself the unusual trouble to think) he finds out, that the Author means, *to bring home his St. Germain Friends, and join the Enthusiastick Hepburnians, and their Associates;* and a little after, O Strange, unheard of Vision! He again *Thinks and Sees* (*parturiunt Montes;* who would not long to know, what 'tis he sees?) *Honest Mr. W----- forsooth, and Mr. M----- walking at the Cross of Edinburgh, with holy Father Dominick 'twixt them, and Mr. D---- W-----s Ghost, hovering over their Heads, with the Covenant in his hand, crying, Brethren, Brethren, go on and prosper.* Now, Sir, the Vision is over, and *Natus est ridiculus mus.* 'Tis pitty, he was not the first that had Visions of this strange nature, for another began very early, to see in a corner of the Street, a Presbyterian Minister, a Popish Priest, and an Episcopal Prelate,

Prelate, all agreeing together in Discourse against the Union. Good Lord! what Courage could stand its ground, before such frightening Apparitions? But I return to the *somewhat more*, that gave birth to these Spectres: and since he assures us, he will be *mightily Obligated*, if any shall tell him, *What else will be necessary to enforce the Articles upon the Judgments and Inclinations of the People*; I'll tell him, in plain Scots, That Fair Dealing, and Sound Reasoning, will go a great way to effect it: *That is*, when he and his Friends, shall cease to Banter, Hector and Juggle, and shall commence to Argue close and fair; if the Cause thus managed can stand the Test, the People will most heartily Acquiesce in the thing; and if it will not, cannot bear to be tryed by this Touch-Stone; why then the Authority of Parliament, without the additional Assistance of *his Ropes, Powder and Ball*, may enforce the Articles on the passively complying People; but still *their Judgments and Inclinations* will remain actively bent against them. But to proceed.

To confute these 4 Monosyllables expressed by the Author, *Our Trade is Sunk*; the Answerer bestows no fewer than 7 pages in 4to. and tells us at first, that our Trade is not Sunk, *that we had never a greater Trade than now*, and that we Trade to all the Places in Europe, where ever we Traded before. This last Assertion may be true, but then, we have not the same Privileges, Immunities and Incouragements, as to Trading, we had before. For Example, We have not now a Monopoly of the *French Traffick*, as before the fatal Union of ours and the *English Crown*; whence 'tis, that the one Shire of *Fife* is not now, as in these happy days, Mistress of Four Hundred Ships; nor the one Town of *St. Andrews* of Twenty; nor the other Shires and Burghs in *Scotland*, of numbers proportionable to these. Peruse but the Registers of our Mint-house, and you shall find, That but two years before our King took

Journey for London, we Coined 119 Stone Weight of Gold, and of Silver to a proportionable Value; and whence came all this Bullion, but from our *French Trade*? And what for a Glorious and Happy People had we been e're this time, had we continued to tread in this Golden Path?

In the next place, he tells us, *That our Trade is Sunk or Decayed*, which is the same thing; but then, *that 'tis not the Fault of our Neighbours of England*, but of our own Merchants nominally so called, for he does not believe there are ten in Scotland who deserve the name of Merchants. And,

Lastly, Concludes, That 'tis the fault of our Neighbours of England, that our Trade is Sunk; for says he, King William was prest to do what he did, in the Affair of Darien, (one great cause, I take it, of the Decay of our Trade) or to disoblige a Reigning Party in the Parliament of England at that time, when he was Engaged in a heavy War, &c. The Gentleman has forgot, That the Peace was concluded at Ryswick in 97, and that the first Proclamation against our African Company, was not issued out till 99. But the King told, --- that it was not the Proclamations, which hindered the Scots from being Supply'd with Wood and Water, but their own want of Money. If so, for what good Reason were these Proclamations extorted from him? And since they were of no use to oblige the Reigning Party of the English Parliament, by defeating our attempts to Trade, why did he not call them back?

Thus far he has Vindicated the Procedure of King William, and now he tells us, how thankful we ought to be, that Queen Anne disposes of the Revenues of the Crown in the Country, and that they are not carried out in specie every year to London. None ever expressed a more feeling Sense of Gratitude, for the Real and Substantial Favours Her Majesty has done to our Nation, than our Author: but I can tell the Answerer, That one of the Ptolomeys of Egypt

Egypt by diverting the Publick Revenues of his Crown, into the Private Pockets of some of the Roman Senators, is said to have done more Mischief to Ancient Rome, than its Inveterat Enemy Hannibal, after a long Tract of Triumphs and Victories, was ever able to effect; and not to dissemble the matter with you, Sir, I am satisfied, that Scotland has suffered more these 100 years bypast, by English Gold, or rather by the English being Impowered to dispose of our Publick Revenues, and places of Profit, tho in favour of Scots-men, than all our Ancestors did from Fergus the first, down to Queen Mary, by almost an Uninterrupted tract of Devastations and Wars. Nor is Queen Anne to be blamed in this matter, no more than the Jameses and Charleses Her Predecessors. The Reason is obvious, and this stands in need of no Comentary.

And now, the Answerer would fain know, what Laws, consistent vwith the Prerogative and useful for the Subject, have been denied the Royal Sanction. The Act for a Triennial Parliament is one of these Laws, to mention no other; and here methinks (if I may retort in his Words) that Gentleman makes pretty free vwith the Parliament, who by his Language, Condemns that Honourable House, as Foolish for framing Laws not useful to the Subject, and Rebellious for Incroaching on the Prerogative. Is he Ignorant, that the Parliament of never-erring England, have drawn to our hands the Plan of that excellent Law? Or does he imagine, that the Prerogative Royal is dwindled away into nothing, in the hands of King William and Queen Anne?

From the Queen's Prerogative, he comes to talk of the Subjects Property, and is afraid, our Author wants a Property, which, says he, every sensible Man should have; There's Reasoning for you, Sir, the Answerer has evinced, that he who wants a Property, or in other terms, he who is not Rich, is not a sensible Man, he is a Fool. Now, 'twere unmannerly to retort and

say, that the Answerer wants a Property in his own sense; for he goes on to evince the contrary, by a long Digression upon *Cess, Customs, and Opulent, i. e. Sensible and just Calculations*, you can not doubt of it, by reason of the Ingenuity and *Faintness* of his above-mentioned Quotations and Arguments; but the Misfortune lies here, this and his other Digressions upon the like Subjects, are just as much *a propos* to the Reasoning of the Author he intends to Confute, as the old Story of *Robin Hood and little John*, or the Ballad of *Christ's Kirk on the Green*; wherefore I shall leave him in his Ramblings. 'Tis neither my business nor the Author's, to inlarge upon Trade; we are both of Opinion, 'That *Artifici credendum in Arte sua*, and as 'twere the hight of Impudence in any private Man, how Learned soever, to arraign a whole College of Physicians for *mala praxi*; so, I think, the unconcerned Stranger, or tho' concerned, *Scots* Soldier, Lawier, Baron, or whoever he be, that will take upon him, to Teach the whole body of *Scots* Merchants, more than they are Capable to Understand, cannot escape the Censure of Thinking Men. 'Tis not so very long ago, since we ventured upon Trading Projects, with a great deal too much Deference to the Directions and Advice of certain Projectors, not our own; and this was none of the least Misfortunes, which attended that otherways well Contrived, Honest and Glorious Attempt.

Now You see, Sir, that hitherto I have been forced to dwell with the Answerer, upon nought, but the Author's Introductory Discourse; 'tis now time to Examine, what has been opposed to the Subject-matter of his Book, wherefore I must tell you, That

The Author from the *Revolution-Principles*, as published by Mr. De Foe (a Home and Weighty Argument, if Arguments were not down-weighted by a more solid *Je ne sçay quoy*, I cannot express,) has demonstrated, that a Plurality of Voices

in Parliament, cannot legally ratify the Articles of the Treaty now on Foot, so long as the plurality of their *Original* and *Superior* (as Mr. De Foe expresses himself) the *Peoples* shall continue to Dissent; and if the Articles come to be finally Ratified and Concluded upon, he has evinced to the *Cleareness* and *Plainness*, of a Demonstration, That our Church Government, Claim of Right, &c. must needs be over-turned of Course.

Now, to elude the Force of these, in a real Sense, *Jesuit*-like Arguments, the Answer tells us, *imo*. That at last, *The Eyes of the Ecclesiastick Ministry are opened*. i. e. All our Ministers are satisfied of the Security of the Church, excepting *some few who Act like Jesuites in Disguise, and would Grace a P---ry, better than a P---it*. That all the Ministry of the Kingdom, no less than those of the Commission of the Kirk at *Edinburgh*, do what in them lyes to suppress such Tumults, and Weapon-shaws as are Treasonable, is an undoubted Truth; but that they are all of Opinion, that the Continuation of the Presbyterian Government, and the exercise of their Pastoral Offices is secured to them, and to Posterity, by the Union, is, I am sure, much more, than can be inferred from their dissenting Addresses, and Letters; and I hope no Body will have the Impudence to say, That all, or most of the Presbyteries of *Lanerk, Hamilton, &c.* are *Jesuites in Disguise, would Grace a P---ry, &c.* I am told, That the lower Clergy of *England* have by an Address, (whether as yet presented to Her Majesty, or no, I cannot tell,) given Thanks for Her Endeavours in promoting the Union, as being the most likely Means to secure the Church of *England*. A happy Union upon my Word, by which Bishops and no Bishops, Supremacy and Parity, Simplicity and Pomp, Predestination and Free-will, &c. are equally secured in One and the same Kingdom; and jointly protected by One and the same Sovereign and Parliament; If an Union of this Nature be not

near

near o' Kin to the thing called by Philosophers, *A Hircocervus*, I have forgot my Latine.

2do. The Answerer asserts, *That the Generality of the Nation are for the Union*. How so? The thing is plain, 'tis the greatest Argument can be; we have seen but betwixt 80 and a 100 Addressees, some with Thousands, some with Hundreds; some with but 6 or 8 Subscriptions, in Name of, and with Consent of such Multitudes of People as could not all Subscribe, against the Union: Therefore behold the Conclusion, all those who have not as yet Addressed in so Goodly a Company, are for it. This is such a Jest, as deserves no return but what it meets with every where, to be Laught at; and were I not afraid, lest it should be thought that I had borrowed from the Essayer a Reflective Thought, he puts with less Reason upon another Author; I would say, that the Answerer must needs be *in pectore*, a greater Enemy to the Union than these Gentlemen that are avowedly so: For to Argue thus against the plain Senses of Mankind, and the certain Knowledge, and obvious Reason of every one in particular, looks like a Design to undermine the very Structure one would seem to Rear up. If the Non-Addressers are for the Union, why are they Non-Addressers? In former Reigns, and not long since, in King Charles the 2ds. time, we have seen Addressees and Counter-Addressees about one and the same Affair, viz. The calling or not calling of a Parliament; And whence comes it now, that no one Paroch, Burgh, or Shire, can be prevailed with to present us with a Counter-Address? I can see but one Reason, which is in short this, There are scarcely so many Unioners to be found in any one Paroch, Burgh or Shire, as there are sitting in the Parliament-House; and a Counter-Address from 6 or 7 Heretors in *Angus* Shire, for Example, would make but a sorry Figure, in Competition with 180 Gentlemen of that Shire, who
have

have Subscribed their Address; the like may be said of other Places. But after all, there are a great many Silent; And who are these? The most Northern Shires, and Highlands, that is, in plain Scots, the Jacobites and Papists; who are not, it seems of Opinion, whatever is Industriouslly spread abroad to the contrary, that their appearing against the Union, will be imputed to them as Meritorious.

What I have said, I conceive is a sufficient Reply to the Essayer, as well as to the Answerer; for he too, has the Confidence to tell us, That the Majority of the Kingdom are for the Union. For, *imo. The Majority of the Burghs are so.*

Good God! is it in the power of Honesty to hear this without Indignation? The whole Body, the Convention of the Royal Burrows convened and met at *Edinburgh* for this very End and Purpose, have, notwithstanding all Endeavours to the contrary, Addressed the Parliament against the Union; and after this, with what Face can any Man argue, that the Majority of them are for it? But the *Twenty Burghs that refused to Address, have more Inhabitants in them, than the 24 that Addressed.* No one Burgh within the Kingdom has refused to Address, tho' tis true that 20 Burrows, their Representatives at the Convention, Voted against their Addressing; and since no one of the Burghs Represented by these 20, has Counter-Addressed, notwithstanding the Opinion of their Representatives in particular, but that all have acquiesced in the Address of the Convention, as expressing the Sense of all: 'Tis as clear as ever the shining Sun appeared at Noon-day, that there is not one Burgh in the Kingdom, but has at least virtually Addressed against the Union. Besides that, a great many of these Burghs, whose Representatives were not for Addressing at the Convention, have been Explicite in particular Addresses since that time.

And

And where now is the Majority? and since all the Burghs in the Kingdom are plainly evinced to be Addressers against the Union; I see no further Occasion for Calculating either the Cess payable by them, or the Numbers of their Inhabitants.

2do. I need say little to the Majority of the Shires, for with a suppose it was so, 'tis own'd, that they are against the Union; but then if we shall include the Nobility, and compute the Value of the Estates of the Free-holders (an excellent Rule for enquiring into Numbers of Persons) he dares say, two thirds of the Freehold of Scotland belong to such as are for the Union. To make use of no harsher Term, I dare Reply, that 'tis a gross Mistake: Nay, whether we shall reckon the Numbers, or Compute the Value of the Estates of the Nobility; I could make it out, that the Majority, even of these, including the Popish Peers and Nonjurors, are against the Union: And here I cannot forbear taking notice of the unaccountable Contradictory Cavils adduced by our uniting Pamphleteers, to delude the unthinking part of the Nation. Here they tell us, That the Plurality of the Kingdom are for the Union; because forsooth, the Jacobites, Non-jurors, and Papists, have not Addressed against it. Turn over the Leaf, and there you'll be made to believe, that all this Bustle and Noise made by Addresses, Instructions, Speeches, Writings, Mobs, to obstruct the Union, is Jacobitism at the bottom, and a restoring of some Body, and this is called *Honest Reasoning and fair Argument*.

3tio. To say a little to that vast Multitude of Noblemens and Gentlemens Vassals, their second Brothers, and younger Children, their Tenents, Servants, &c. who do not Vote at Elections of Representatives; I do not find that they are deny'd to be for the most part Ante-uniter: But, says the Essayer, all such Men are meddling with what they have no Right to be meddling with, nor are any way concerned in. I must beg pardon to

to say, that a Stranger (who ever he be) that presumes thus flatly to Contradict our known Laws, and Fundamental Constitution, as Explain'd by our Greatest & Wisest Lawyers, *is meddling with what he is unconcerned in* ; He has been told again, and again, that Sir George Mackenzie and Sir John Nisbet, have both Asserted, that an Union of this Nature cannot be effected without the Consent of every individual Scots-man ; and indeed the Nature of the thing demonstrates their Title to Address, Petition, Complain, &c. There's a Relation and Co-Relation (if I may use these Pedantick, but Expressive Terms) betwixt the Meanest Subject, and the Greatest Sovereign, the Sovereign cannot subsist without Subjects, even of this Rank. 'Tis they chiefly that Fight his Battles, Man his Fleets, Manure his Lands ; nay, and with the Sweat of their Brows pay the very Cess and Excise ; for without them, the Sovereign could get neither ; These, and all Scots-men of Age, betwixt 16 and 60 Years, are obliged to Arm, and to expose their Lives in Defence of the King and Parliament, when required ; and if any one of these shall be found in Arms against their Native Country Scotland, present Death must atone for the Crime : And shall these Men, who unquestionably are the Bulk, the Treasure, the Guard ; nay, and the very Life and Being of the Nation, have no Concern in the Nation ? Are they begot and born Slaves to the Sovereign or Parliament ? And can they not be Manumitted but by purchasing a Lairdship, or by procuring a Burges Ticket ? If this is your so much boasted of English Liberty, to me the Turkish Tyranny has greater Charms.

4to. But if there was a Majority of the People against the Union, it does not appear to the Essayer that they have a Right to Restrain the House, unless what the Parliament was doing, was in it self Destructive of the Laws, Liberties, &c. Now I'd gladly ask Mr. De Foe, Who, by his Principles, is Judge Competent

And where now is the Majority? and since all the Burghs in the Kingdom are plainly evinced to be Addressers against the Union; I see no further Occasion for Calculating either the Cess payable by them, or the Numbers of their Inhabitants.

2do. I need say little to the Majority of the Shires, for with a suppose it was so, 'tis own'd, that they are against the Union; but then if we shall include the Nobility, and compute the Value of the Estates of the Free-holders (an excellent Rule for enquiring into Numbers of Persons) he dares say, two thirds of the Freehold of Scotland belong to such as are for the Union. To make use of no harsher Term, I dare Reply, that 'tis a gross Mistake: Nay, whether we shall reckon the Numbers, or Compute the Value of the Estates of the Nobility; I could make it out, that the Majority, even of these, including the Popish Peers and Nonjurors, are against the Union: And here I cannot forbear taking notice of the unaccountable Contradictory Cavils adduced by our uniting Pamphleteers, to delude the unthinking part of the Nation. Here they tell us, That the Plurality of the Kingdom are for the Union; because forsooth, the Jacobites, Non-jurors, and Papists, have not Addressed against it. Turn over the Leaf, and there you'll be made to believe, that all this Bustle and Noise made by Addresses, Instructions, Speeches, Writings, Mobs, to obstruct the Union, is Jacobitism at the bottom, and a restoring of some Body, and this is called *Honest Reasoning and fair Argument*.

3tio. To say a little to that vast Multitude of Noblemens and Gentlemens Vassals, their second Brothers, and younger Children, their Tenents, Servants, &c. who do not Vote at Elections of Representatives; I do not find that they are deny'd to be for the most part Ante-univers: But, says the Essayer, all such Men are meddling with what they have no Right to be meddling with, nor are any way concerned in. I must beg pardon to

to say, that a Stranger (who ever he be) that presumes thus flatly to Contradict our known Laws, and Fundamental Constitution, as Explain'd by our Greatest & Wisest Lawyers, *is meddling with what he is unconcerned in* ; He has been told again, and again, that Sir George Mackenzie and Sir John Nisbet, have both Asserted, that an Union of this Nature cannot be effected without the Consent of every individual *Scots-man* ; and indeed the Nature of the thing demonstrates their Title to Address, Petition, Complain, &c. There's a Relation and Co-Relation (if I may use these Pedantick, but Expressive Terms) betwixt the Meanest Subject, and the Greatest Sovereign, the Sovereign cannot subsist without Subjects, even of this Rank. 'Tis they chiefly that Fight his Battles, Man his Fleets, Manure his Lands ; nay, and with the Sweat of their Brows pay the very Cess and Excise ; for without them, the Sovereign could get neither ; These, and all *Scots-men* of Age, betwixt 16 and 60 Years, are obliged to Arm, and to expose their Lives in Defence of the King and Parliament, when required ; and if any one of these shall be found in Arms against their Native Country *Scotland*, present Death must atone for the Crime : And shall these Men, who unquestionably are the Bulk, the Treasure, the Guard ; nay, and the very Life and Being of the Nation, have *no Concern* in the Nation ? Are they begot and born Slaves to the Sovereign or Parliament ? And can they not be Manumitted but by purchasing a Lairdship, or by procuring a Burges Ticket ? If this is your so much boasted of *English Liberty*, to me the *Turkish Tyranny* has greater Charms.

4to. But if there was a Majority of the People against the Union, it does not appear to the Essayer that they have a Right to Restrain the House, unless what the Parliament was doing, was in it self *Destructive* of the Laws, Liberties, &c. Now I'd gladly ask Mr. De Foe, Who, by his Principles, is Judge Competent

of this Matter? *The People or the Parliament; The Representatives, or the Represented; the Fountain or the Stream; The Power that Gives, or the Power that receives; In a Word, The Nations Servants* (so is the of House Commons termed by him) *or the Nation it self?* Thus, Sir, you see, what it is to set up for a Time-server, and to Patronize not the best Cause, but the wealthiest Client; Writers of this Character, cannot choose but to be sometimes Caught in the Nets they had laid for others. And here I shall leave this Gentleman to extricate himself from out of his own Labyrinth.

I proceed now to talk of the Certainty of our Future Happiness, as demonstrated by the Author of *the Advantages of the Act of Security*, if we are but so Lucky as to desist, while time is, from compleating our Ruin; 'Tis certain, that we are not now, nor can we be in a Condition to Treat upon equal Terms with *England*, about any one National Concern, while our Sovereigns, how much so ever by Inclination, or Reason, Well-wishers of this their Ancient Kingdom, and of us their more Loyal Subjects, shall by the daring Temper and Genius of that Haughty People; and by the nature of their mixt Government, be compelled into the Necessity of an unequal Sway. Hence 'tis, that we have Groan'd under the insupportable Weight of Foreign Influence and Power, these 100 Years past; and that, as the *Holy Ghost* was said to have been transmitted by Post from *Rome* to the Council at *Trent*, so the Resolution and Acts of our Senate, have been Conveyed by Couriers from *London* to *Edinburgh*. Had We no other Reason (and the World knows, we have Thousands as urging) to oppose against the Treaty; This one Consideration, in my Judgment, down Ballance all its *Good Consequences*, if there are any such; For I confess, *I am so Blind*, as not to see them, and so Incredulous as not to believe, till *the Sun shall shine on them*, and make me to see. But to the purpose,

If we will but Retreat in time, and have Patience, the Day is approaching (tho' I hope very slowly, for many Reasons adduced by our Author) when by vertue of the *Act of Security*, our Judgments shall be uncorrupted, our Inclinations Natural, our Wills free, our Senate intirely *Scotish*; And then I dare to ask, *What is it our Eyes can Covet, or Hearts Desire, but we shall have in Conjunction with England, Holland, or France ?*

I say, *England* must, and will then give us *better Terms*; And *what are these*? The very same were offered to us (and what was offered, I need not repeat) a Hundred and Fifty Years ago, by *Henry the Eighth*, and his Son, tho' at the time Victorious over us, and Masters of a third Part at least of our Country; and thus we shall neither endanger our Church-Government, nor sink our Independency, nor stain the Blood transmitted down to us, from the Heroes at *Bannockburn*; And to sum up all, we shall have a sufficient Guarantee for the Treaty, our own still Independing Parliaments. *How*, says the Answerer, *Two Supreme Judicatures in one State? This is Inconsistent; have not the Dutch their States General, the French their Parliament at Paris, and Spain their Cortes? And must we have a Parliament above both our Parliaments?* No indeed, but each Parliament may Impower from time to time, a Select Committee of their own Number to meet a *York*, or elsewhere, and conform to Instructions, agree about, and Regulate all Matters of Common Interest, as Taxes, Duties, Imposts, *Quota's* of Forces to be raised, Funds to pay them, and what ever else both Nations may be jointly and equally Concerned in. It seems, the Answerer knows not, or will not tell, that the States General of the Seven united Provinces, are not Supreme, but Subordinate to, and delegated by the respective Sovereign and Independing States of each Province, to whom they are accountable: Nay, and so very Subservient,

vient, that till their Constituents are first informed of, and satisfied with their Deliberations, nothing that's Momentuous can pass. Yet these, tho Independing Provinces, are so closely fastened together, that scarce any Incorporating Union can vye with their Federal one; and I should be glad to know, why *England* and *Scotland* may not Unite in the same manner; and the rather, because their one Hereditary Sovereign cannot fail for his own Preservation and Grandeur, to keep fast the undissolveable Knot.

As for the Parliament of *Paris*, 'tis no Supreme Judicature; but in its own District, no more than that of *Dijon*, *Mets*, *Grenoble*, &c. and that only in Civil Cases and private Rights; Our College of Justice was Established upon the Model of these *French* Parliaments, and take my Word for it, Sir, our Lords of the Session are as much Sovereigns in their Decisions, as their *Conseillers du Parlement*, for so are their Judges called. So that this Instance brought in to prove the the Necessity of one Supreme Parliament in two United Kingdoms, is such a Blunder, as I believe none but the Answerer could have been Guilty of.

The same thing may be said of *Spain*, whose Federally United Kingdoms and Principalities, have all the common Advantages and Burthens of Traffick; all are equally *Spaniards* in *Mexico* and *Peru*; but at home, the *Arragonians*, are *Arragonians* still, and the *Castillans* are *Castillans*; that is, they are governed by their own Respective Laws, they enjoy their Ancient and Distinct Rights, Privileges and Immunities, and their Independing States meet in their own Capitals, when called by their King, who is the Bond of their Union. And a Demonstration of this may be seen by such, as are not other-ways Conversant with Books and Travellers, in our late Gazettes, which tell us, That the States of *Catalonia*, *Brabant* and *Arragon*, have been called at different Times and Places
by

by King *Charles*. But we, only we, the Refuse of the Universe, and the object of our own and *Europe's* Contempt, must not, dare not lay Claim to an Equality with our Neighbour Subjects of our own King, in Liberty nor Trade, till we first resolve to Invert our Constitution, Unhinge our Laws, Degrade our Nobles, Affront our Ancestors, Forget our very Name, and Unnation our Kingdom.

Another Argument never to be Answered, but by Banter and Huffing, why we should delay to Treat with *England*, till the *Act of Security* takes place, is this, *England* is Drowned in Debt, and, like all Bankrupt Principals, wants a Cautioner to support her expiring Credit. By the Union, *Scotland* is conjunctly and severally Bound and Obligated, to make thankful Payment of Sums we never saw; but then there's a *Proviso* expressed in the Bond, *viz.* That *England*, as Principal, shall re-imburse the Sums to be paid by *Scotland* as Cautioner. But this Bond is in one thing Defective, it contains no Clause of Registration; and if the Principal fails to make good his Part of the Contract, I do not find, that we can charge him with Horning. This is certain, we must pay a considerable Share of the *English* Debt, and that out of our own Pockets; for 'tis now owned by all Parties, that the Equivalent, we get from *England*, is re-paid by *Scotland* within the short space of Eleven Years. However,

If uncertain Victory shall, but for a few more Campaigns, continue to wait upon our Conquering Arms; If *Philip* shall be Dethroned, and *Lewis* Reduced; instead of giving, to receive Laws; in a Word, if, in spite of Rumors spread abroad of *Ottoman* and *Gothish* Inundations, and Conjunctions with the almost withered *Flower-de-luce*: I say, if the Ballance of Christendom shall, by a Glorious Peace, be settled on our Protestant Basis, there's no doubt, but *England*, Mistress of the Seas, and satiated with Commerce, will in a very short time,
Re-

Recover the Treasures Expended, and long before Her Majesty's Demise, will in all probability have repaid Her Debts. If things fall out thus (and who but a *Jacobite*, can doubt but they will) Why, then we may Treat, and Unite with *England*, without engaging in the *English* Debt. Our Commissioners for the next Treaty, shall be in no danger of being Over-reached by Mysterious, Unintelligible Equivalents; and our first Adventurers to the Plantations, shall not be deterred from setting to Sea, lest they meet with more certain Ruin than Profit from Exactions at Home

But *England*, by this time, swelled with Success, and seated by Fortune above Resentment, will scorn our then Useless Union; and whereas now they court, they'll perhaps presume to Command: *The Prince of Hanover, then King of England, will force us to acknowledge him as the next Protestant Heir.* So here, as indeed almost in every Page, we are threatned with a War from *England, that is*, with what our Fore-fathers considered as a Blessing from Heaven. The Author had said enough to cut off this Objection, but that the Answerer and his Friends can omit no Opportunity to Complement the *English*, and to affront us: Weak and Despirited as we are, we are yet more considerable, with Respect to the *English*, for all the Lawrels we have helpt them to win, than we were formerly, in the days of their more potent *Edward*, surnamed, *Langshanks*; we are yet more considerable, if compared to them, than either the Oppressed *Bohemians* were in the days of *Ziska*; or the *Switze* in the time of *Verner Stanfacher*, or the *Hungarians* at present, in Competition with the Emperor and Empire. What were the despicable *Guez, that is*, Beggars of the *Netherlands*, to *Spain*? And how low were the once and again Conquered *Swedes*, under *Gustavus Eric*, in Competition with the *Danes*? And had all these, for the most part now mighty Nations, been thus Bugbeard out of their Valour and Wits, had they

they not deservedly been at this day, what they were then, Slaves to their more Powerful and Wealthier Neighbours? But to be plain with you, Sir, as I fear not the Consequences of a War with *England*, upon the Queens Demise, suppose we should be forced upon it, so I see no reason to think, there will be any Occasion offered, or Grounds given to Hostilities on either side. *England* will for their own Interest, give us our own Terms of Union, and as they ever did, so they ever will by all means, endeavour to shut up that Back-door, by which, if not friendly used, we can let in their otherways excluded Foes: The *English* are not like upon any event, to Out-rival the Grandeur, Valour and Wealth of their own, and the World's once Mistress, *Rome*; yet *Adrian* the Master of *Rome*, found it no easie task, to secure the *English* Frontiers, against our Attacks, tho he added to the Strength of his Guardian *Legions*, that mighty Bulwark, called to this day, his Wall. The *English* are wiser, and they know better things, than to endanger their own State, by attempting a Conquest by Force, over a People, whose Hearts, Lives and Fortunes, they may Conquer by one Act of Kindness. This our Author has made out at large, and his Arguments, as they are Unanswerable, so they are Unanswered. But as nothing future can be absolutely certain, if the *English* should then prove as Mad as they are now Wise, I mean, it, when we are Masters of our selves, we should be able to procure no better Terms from them, than at present, when their Influence is so prevailing amongst us, he demonstrates that even in that Case, we cannot fail of being made Happy, either by a Federal Union with *Holland*, or by reviving our old League with *France*; the plain Reasons and evident Advantages of either of these Schemes, the Answerer has been so Judicious as not to touch. But he Objects against the first,

1^{mo}. That by a Coalition, as he expresses the thing, with the Dutch, our Independency and Supremacy must be overturned, no less

less than by our Incorporating Union. Is not each of the Seven Provinces Supreme and Independent within it self? And as another Author has most Judiciously said, *'Tis better to be an Eight Province, than a Twelfth County.*

2do. *The Dutch Declined to go into a Coalition with the Rump Parliament.* They had reason, the Government of *England* was then precarious, *Cromwel* was an Usurper, and if they had United with him, they entailed a never-ending War upon themselves; besides *England*, more Powerful and ever Ambitious, might have Incroached upon their lesser State; but we are too Remote, and not like to be Potent enough to give umbrage to the *Dutch*; and the Dread of Forfeiting their Share of our Fisherie, with the Conveniency of our Harbours, will effectually secure us, against Incroachments from them; neither is it their Business to Conquer others, but to preserve themselves: A Kingdom subjected to their Provinces, would unhinge their Constitution, Dissolve their Confederacy, and Depopulate their Towns.

3tio. *Nothing will do with the Author, but a King of our own.* The Assertion is false; for the Author says no such thing. And tho he had, why not a King of our own, and a Federal Union with *Holland*? Are there not a great many Hans Towns and Republicks in *Germany*, Federally United with Sovereign Princes, and Kings of the Empire? Have not all together a common Diet at *Ratisbon*? And why may not the Deputies of our King and Parliament, make up with those of the Seven Provinces, the States General at the *Hague*.

4to. *We have not Revenues sufficient to support the Grandeur and Majesty of a King.* Perhaps not now indeed, Impoverished as we are, but by a Federal Union with *Holland*, we shall instantly be let into their Method of Trafficking; we have a Stock that can never Decay, and our Fishing Ponds are of more Value, than all the Golden Discoveries of *Portugal* and
Spain,

Spain. In a word, while Food shall be of Use to Mankind, and while Fish shall be Food, the Inexhaustible Revenues of our *Scots* Kings, if ever we shall be so lucky as to have any such, may with good Management and a *Dutch* Confederacy, equal, if not exceed, the perishing Treasures of the *Peruvian* *Inga's*, or *Mexican* *Montezuma's*.

5to. *The Dutch are more obliged to us, than we to them.* I shall not dispute it. But what then? Therefore they will not Unite with us, says the Answerer. Therefore they will Unite with us, say I, if they Resolve not to be Worn or Beaten out of their Stock of Wealth, and the very foundation of their Grandeur, our *Scots* Fisherie. The *English* tell us here, (and 'tis none of the weakest Arguments made use of, to decoy us into the Union) that *it must, and shall be so*: But to speak the Truth, Sir, a great many here, are afraid, that beyond Seas they tell the *Dutch*, that *it shall not be*; That they, whose Interest it has been hitherto, to crush all our Attempts and Essays of that nature, will never think fit to alter their Measures, to the Raising *Scotland*, altho called *North-Britain*, to an Equality in Wealth with themselves; That there's somewhat aspiring in the Nature of *Scots-men*, that their Generous Blood cooled by Want and Oppression, may again Ferment into Vigour, if Warm'd with Plenty and Power; That they have no Hopes we can ever forget, that the time was, when we were an Independent Sovereign People; That the Learned by Reading, the Vulgar by Tradition, and all by the Indelible Monuments of our Ancient Freedom, may be Tempted some Ages hence, to follow a Reviving *Wallace*, or to Crown an Injured *Bruce*; That *Portugal* found means to divide from *Spain*, *Swedland* from *Denmark*, and *Switzerland* from the Empire; And did not they take care to bear down the very *English*, their own Country-men, as well as the Natives of *Ireland*, they should be in danger of losing that Kingdom. I say, 'tis fear'd by many,

and believed by some, That the *English*, at this very minute, think fit to speak this Language to the *Dutch*, in order to allay their Fears, and take off the Jealousies, the noise of our Uniting Project has raised among them: And if they keep their Words to the *Dutch*, as it seems they mean to do, by the Impositions they have laid upon Salt, which is alone sufficient to defeat all the Hopes of our Fishing, where are we? And is it not better to secure our own Wealth to our selves, by Sharing it with the Nation in the World the most capable, and must needs be most willing to Advance the Design?

6to. Should we in order to an Union with the *Dutch*, offer to Naturalize the Subjects of that State, we shall as soon get Jupiter to rain down Gold upon us, as to perswade the Queen to grant such an Act. Honestly said, upon my Word! and who could have expected this from the same Mouth that had said before, that he'd fain know what Laws have been denyed the Royal Sanction? For my part, I humbly differ in this, as you see, I do in a great many Things from the Answerer; and I am of Opinion, that tho the Queen of *England* would not, yet the Queen of *Scotland* may be prevailed with, to give Her Assent to this Law: but I would not have Her Majesty straitned, I would have Her Life easy, as Her Reign is Glorious. 'Tis enough that we know what will secure our Happiness in an After-game, when we shall be enabled to enact Laws, and make Denizations, without the Sanction or Assent of an *English* Sovereign.

7mo. Should such an Act pass, the *Dutch* will never allow their People to displant. No, but they may have Colonies of their People in *Scotland*, as they have at the Cape of Good Hope, *Battavia*, &c. in the *Indies*. The Town of *Aberdeen* knows, at what Rate the *Dutch* would have Purchased a free Port at that Place; and the Earls, *Marishal* and *Seaforth*, can tell what they were willing to pay for the Freedom of their Harbours and Towns of *Peterhead* and the *Lews*.

I have on purpose been concise upon this Subject, beca^use it is more fully and accurately handled by the knowing Author of *The Letter concerning the Consequences of an Incorporating Union*, and to him I shall leave the easy Task, to weep off the undeserved Ridiculous Character, both the Answerer and Essayer endeavour to fasten upon his Performance; and if the old Saying, *ex ungue Leonem*, hold true, I am sure, if he think it worth his While, he'll do it to purpose. And,

Now I come to the old *French League*, proposed by the Author, as the last Remedy fitted to cure our Distempers; and here the general Cry of our Uniting Pamphleteers, is, O this is bare fac'd, Rank Popery! 'Tis a Restoring of some body, 'tis plain and down right Jacobitisme! And so comes in the *French King*, as tho born and bred up in the *Petites Maisons* of *Paris*, or *Bedlam* at *London*, Roving and Bullying, as if bitten by a mad Dog, with a long train of Pimps, Jesuites and Panders, with Popish Factors in all our Ports to debauch our People, and subvert our Government. And here the poor Author, or rather the *St. Germain Moschus*, is thunder-struck with Words, and confounded with Witticisms: but all this while, not one Argument is fairly Answered, nor one word honestly quoted of all the Author has adduced from *Pag: 30 to 35*, to prove, That in case no Protestant State will daign to confederate with us upon equal Terms (which by the by, he had before evinced to be next to Impossible) we ought to endeavour; and there's no reason to think, but we will retrieve our lost Glory, Wealth, and Independency by the Help of a *French*, tho Popish Alliance. 'Tis in vain, to recapitulate in this place the weighty Considerations, uncontravertible Proofs, and numerous Variety of Precedents, he has briefly, but forcibly insisted upon. I could wish, you would give your self the Trouble once more to peruse that part of his Book, and I dare say, you'll remain more and more convinced in your former Opinion,

that such Sense, such Solidity, such Reasoning, cannot be eluded but by Cavil, Nonsense and Banter. Mean time laying aside these scurvy Weapons, I was never taught to make use of, I shall seriously consider, what the Answerer, wearied at last with his own Mirth, pretends to be serious about.

He tells us, *first*, That if we revive our Ancient League with France, we must call home the P---ce of W---s, for here is the more naked part of the Author's Design; and we can make no other Choise capable so much as to pretend to keep up the Monarchy. The Portugueze found out a Duke of Braganza of their own; the Swedes, a *Gustavus Eric*, tho Prisoner at the time at *Copenhagen*; the Poles, a *Stanislaus*; the Hungarians, a Prince *Ragotski*; we our selves long ago, a *Robert Bruce*: and now, when Crowns are possessed with Faculties so plainly attractive, and when there are at least three more contending Kings than there are distinct Kingdoms in *Europe*; is it possible, no one Prince can be found out to keep up our perishing Monarchy? Has not the King of *Prussia* a first, second, nor third Son? Are they not Protestants, nay and *Calvinists* to boot? Are they not of our Blood Royal? And since we are in the Right for one good Reason, to postpone thirty or fourty of Her Majesty's more immediate Kinred to the Duke of *Hanover*, may we not for both the Spiritual and Temporal Interest of the People, another Reason no less valid, postpone the Duke of *Hanover* to a Son of *Prussia*? If this will not do, and why it will not, is more than I can tell; is there not a young Protestant Hero Abroad, the King of *Sweden*, who by matching with one of the numerous Princesses, Her Majesty's nearer Kinswomen than the Duke of *Hanover*, may attain to a more unquestionable Title to our *Scotish* Throne? I could enlarge upon this Head: But

France will never revive the Ancient League with us, unless we receive their *St. Germain's Pupil*. That's more than I
be.

believe these Gentlemen will allow to *Louis's* Veracity, altho he had given his word on't, *a Tye he never broke*. They are yet in being, who have seen the same *France*, now so inexorably disinterested, enter into an Alliance with the Usurper *Cromwel*, and banish from the same *St. Germans*, the Uncle & Father of their present Pupil; and the Answerer himself asserts, *That every Polite Prince will always measure his Leagues and Treaties by the Standard of his own Interest*. From whence 'tis evident, that if it is (as it must needs be, while Sun & Moon shall give Light to our Earth) the Interest of *France* to divide us from *England*, they'll stick at nothing to compass this End, should we choose a *John of Stiles* for our King.

But, tho I do not at all grant it, yet in Compliance with, and to oblige the Answerer, I shall suppose (for hitherto we are tied by no Abjuring Oaths, nor have Bills of Attaindre been as yet metamorphosed into Equity amongst us,) that none will be found *so fit to keep up our Monarchy* as the nearest surviving Kinsman of Her present Majesty, whoever he be; what even in that Case, shall we leave no room for Repentance! And if GOD Almighty should deal with our selves after this strange manner, what for an Eternity must we expect! Who amongst us would not have professed Mahometanism, if educated by the Grand Seignior and his Priests, and Ministers of the Divan? Our first Reformers were Papists, while young: Of all Sins the least enormous, are Errors of Education, and Prejudices of Infancy; and these, even these, were extirpated by miraculous Providence from out the whole Protestant World in the days of our Grandfathers: Is Truth less strong than it was? or is the Arm of the Almighty shortned? No: the Parables of the lost Sheep, of the Piece of Silver, of the Prodigal Child, &c. were recorded for the Instruction of this, no less than of preceeding Ages; and 'tis still true, that *there is joy in the presence of the Angels of God over*

one sinner that repenteth, more than over ninety and nine just persons which need no repentance. We all know, that Her Majesty, whose Warmth and Zeal for the Protestant Religion are raised far above the Strugglings of Nature, and Clamours of Flesh and Blood, will comply with any thing She conceives to be lawful for the Support of Religion and Vertue; yet Nature is Nature still: Our Pattern, Christ, had a more feeling Tenderness for his Kinsman St. John, than for any other of his Disciples; and who doubts but his liveliest Image and Vicegerent on Earth, our Gracious Queen, would rejoice with the Angels in Heaven, if Her innocently prodigal Kinred could be brought Home to Truth? And is it possible, She could forbear from imitating the Father described in the Gospel, from *having Compassion, running, kissing, and crying out, Thou art ever with me, and all that I have is thine?*

But then our Sovereign would urge his Pretensions to the Crown of England. Perhaps he would not, Malcom Kenmor did not, or durst not do it in the like occasion; nor can it be in any Event the Interest of France or Holland, that we should Conquer or Re-unite with England; Experience has now taught us, that we had better contain our selves by-North Tweed. Treaties of Partition are now turned Modish, and the Balance of States prevail over the Ambition of Princes; Nay, Kings have been taught to Demit and lay down such Crowns, as the Conveniency of their Neighbours and Subjects, did not allow them to keep.

But what if we should conquer England, and what if England should conquer us? The last Querie is replied to under another Head: and as for the first, I see no great Reason to urge it; we can make our Terms before hand with our King, and procure at least as good Security, that they shall be kept, as we have for the present Treaty; We shall unite Federally with the Conquered in the Terms I mentioned above: And

'tis Ridiculous to imagine, that: if our Sovereign, by our means, should become Master of *England*, we could fail to obtain all the Advantages of Trade, that the Vanquished pretend to. Besides, I could ask, what the Officers and Soldiers, that came over from *Normandy* with *William the Conqueror*, got by his Conquest of *England*? does not *Mr. De Foa* tell us, That they were all made Lords and Gentlemen?

I hasten to a Close, and shall only tell you one short Story, to prove, That if we renew our League with *France*, we are in no great Danger of being Conquered by the more powerful *English*, and that altho the moral Conscience of a French King has by the Rule of quicquid cogit excusat, dispensed with Leagues and Treaties, entred into with the *English*, and *Dutch*, yet as they never dealt so by us, so it is next to Impossible, that they ever will. And the Reason is, because, *France* had better give up (if extreemly worsted, as in the present Juncture) one, two or more of their own Cities or Provinces, Regainable upon another Turn, than to suffer a Kingdom, so intimately Conjoined with themselves, to be Irrecoverably lost for ever to their Interest. This the *English* have been so sensible of in former Ages, (and I doubt not but they are so still) that all the Vigour of their Minds, and Drift of their Politicks, were ever bent to break our never expiring League: Witness King *Henry the eighth*, who after having, by all means possible, attempted the Dissolution of this Gordian Knot; and finding that it was like to be as yet more closely tyed, by a Match betwixt our King, *James the Fifth*, and *Magdalen of France*, he was so enraged, that he discharged the then French Ambassadour *Monsieur du Bely*, whom he otherways favoured with the greatest Testimonies of Esteem and Affection that could be, from daring to come in his presence, till after several days, over-come by the Ascendant Conversation, and re-admitted him to his wonted Familiarity: But with this Caution, that nothing should be mentioned of the *Scottish* Alliancc; for that he was not Master of himself so far, as to hear it with Patience.

And yet we are told now, that it was a League to us of the deepest Dye. Yes, for one Reason indeed; and I Challenge the World to shew me another, because by means of this League, we were preserved since the days of the French *Charlemain* and of our *Scotts Achais*, from being, by Conquest, forced into an Incorporating Union with *England*. To shun which, 'tis true, that on every falling out of the French and *English*, we engaged in the French Quarrel, et vice versa, for our Quarrel, as Interest was one.

I shall have done, how soon I have discussed two Objections equally levelled against a New Treaty with *England* upon the Queen's Demise, or a Coalition with *Holland*, or a League with *France*. And,

imo. At the Revolution, there was a Perswasive found, which brought our then principal Patriots to make an Offer of our Crown, and that without any Terms at all, and what has been, may be. Very true; but we have had time to Repent our Folly: And since Old Proverbs are in Fashion, *Burnt Bairn Fire Dreads*, 'tis hoped we shall never again split upon the same Rock; and I am very sure, that the Act of Security, which is one of the Noblest Efforts of Human Wisdom, was designed and framed chiefly to prevent the like Mismanagement; and 'tis no less than High Treason for any one to presume to offer the Crown, till impowered by Parliament. But then, Sir, we were Frighted out of our Wits by Popery, that horrible Scar-Crow, set up again (when GOD knows there's less Reason), in all

phlets to terrify our Zeal, Holy but fatal Zeal, by which we have been at least three times Undone within the short space of less than one Century.

Our Zeal against Prelacy, when the World knows the Church-Government was settled to our Satisfaction, brought upon us the Scandalous, tho false Imputation of having sold our King to be Murthered by Traitors; and this same Zeal made us purge our Army, to speak the Language of the time, and turn off a great many of our own Brave and Experienced Country-men, before the Battles at Preston-Bridge and Dumbarton.

The no less Fiery Zeal of our Prelatists against Presbytery, what Mischiefs gave it not rise to, after the Restoration? The Rivulets of Blood which were let out, both in the Fields and on the Scaffold, are Proofs we cannot so soon forget.

And Lastly, The Zeal of both Parties against reviving Popery, was the greatest Persuasive, which brought us to make that Preposterous Offer of our Crown, without any Terms at all: While by detaining the Scales of Europe in our Hands, and by Umpiring the Fortunes and Fate of Sovereigns, we might in one Minute, have overtaken our most Topping Neighbours in their advanced Steps to Wealth and Trade.

Tantum Religio potuit suadere Malorum.

And shall we again be Bugbeard into a surrender of our All? And is it not more Reasonable, that we should rather make Friends to our selves, tho, of the Mammon of Unrighteousness, as all the People in the World, Dutch, Germans, Swedes, Hungarians, are doing just now, and have at all times done; if we can retrieve our lost Glory and perishing State by no other Means?

2do. Upon Her Majesty's Demise, There will be such Divisions amongst our selves, as must beget Confusions, if not Blood. Why so? Because, then we shall want a Head; and yet our Parliament is supposed to meet, to have Elected a Preses, secured the Forts, regulated the Forces, and settled the Nation. But we shall have no King nor Queen; no indeed, and consequently no overtopping Court-party; no Promises we can rely on; no present Possession of Places, nor Pensions; no Pre engagements to Vote so or so; And in fine, no Reason nor Ground to Quarrel amongst our selves; all Inconveniencies, but Clandestine Bribery, are guarded against by the Law, and that too more than possible can be, till that time. But the Answerer, Could never find us all of a Piece, in all the Histories he has Read. Why then, because we have ever been mad, must we never Attempt nor Hope to be Wise; our private Contentions have always proved the Bane of our Publick Concerns; we are agreed in the Premise, which is but too true, and I think, we should all agree in the Consequence, viz. Let our Future Wisdom and Concord atone for our by-past Divisions and Folly. Yet I can tell, wherein, till now, we have been all of a Piece, we were ever so, with respect to the Honour of our Country, and Independency of our Crown, and till this present time, we would never hear of an Incorporating Union with England; had we never been all of a Piece, we had not remained to this Day, the only known People in the World, that dares to say, we were never bound by Laws not our own. That our Posterity, down to the last Period of time, may, with as much Justice, boast of the Glorious Privilege, is the most earnest Wish of

Edin. Jan:

1707.



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Yours

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